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persons which on ballot were declared elected to the various positions.

On motion, Mrs. May Wright Sewall, of Indianapolis, Ind., Mrs. Ruth H. Spray of Salida, Col., and Mrs. Geo. W. Bingham of Derry, N. H., were also chosen vice-presidents.

The annual report of the Board of Directors was then read by Secretary Trueblood.

Discussion followed which was participated in by Dr. S. F. Hershey, Dr. C. G. Ames, W. E. Sheldon, Rev. A. E. Winship, Rev. Wm. S. Heywood, President Paine, Mrs. Edwin D. Mead, Mrs. Hannah J. Bailey, N. T. Allen, L. H. Pillsbury and Secretary Trueblood.

The report was then approved and ordered to be published in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*.

The Society then adjourned at 3.50 P. M.

Annual Report of the Directors of the American Peace Society.

Mr. President and Members of the American Peace Society:

The Seventy-first Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the American Peace Society is herewith respectfully submitted.

MEETINGS AND ACTION OF THE BOARD.

Since our appointment last year we have endeavored to represent and promote the cause for which the Society has so long labored, as well as we could with the resources at our command and under the peculiar difficulties and anxieties which the year has brought with it. We have held regular meetings every two months, except during the summer vacation, and in addition to the more general work of helping to educate the public in the principles of arbitration and peace we have had under careful consideration the important questions arising in connection with the war with Spain, the outbreak of hostilities in the Philippines, the Peace Manifesto of the Czar of Russia, etc. In connection with each of these we have taken such action as was demanded by our principles and as seemed expedient at the time.

PERIODICALS.

The *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* and the *ANGEL OF PEACE* have both been continued under the editorial care of the Secretary. The interest in the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* has been greater than at any other time in recent years. The course which it has taken in reference to the momentous questions which have agitated the country, has not, to our knowledge, alienated anyone, but has won many to active coöperation with us. The paper has been sent regularly, as heretofore for years, to the reading rooms of colleges, universities, theological schools, to many Y. M. C. A.'s, to public libraries, to ministers, teachers and other leaders of opinion, as our funds have permitted. The Miles White Beneficial Society of Baltimore, the Obadiah Brown Benevolent Fund of Providence, the Rhode Island Peace Society, the Peace Committee of the New England Friends Yearly Meeting, and a number of individuals in different states have made special contributions for its circulation.

No part of our work is more important than the education of the young to right methods of thinking on the subject of peace and the methods by which it may be maintained. The events of the past year show how painfully far public sentiment yet is from being what it ought to be on this subject. The war spirit still lives and is, we fear, behind much of what is given a nobler name. The campaign of education must be, if not undertaken anew, at least carried forward with greatly increased energy and devotion. All the members and friends of the Society in all parts of the land can do much by aiding in the circulation of our journal, and in other ways which lie open to them before their own doors.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Many thousands of copies of the various pamphlets, leaflets and reports which we keep in stock, for sale and free distribution, have been sent out during the year. One constantly encouraging feature of this work is the numerous calls for literature coming from the college and university young men and women who are studying and debating the subjects of arbitration, disarmament and universal peace. This has been more than ordinarily the case the past year, the calls coming also from High Schools, church debating societies and working-boys' clubs. The women's clubs are becoming awakened to interest in the subject of international peace. We have assisted in supplying a number of these with literature.

We have tried to keep on hand a good supply of the best peace literature, both old and new, as far as our limited funds have permitted. As this department of our work is by no means self-supporting, we are dependent on the generosity of the friends of the cause for its maintenance.

PUBLIC WORK.

The president and members of the board have during the year, in addition to their official action as a body, sought as individuals to promote in various ways the principles for which the Society stands. Other members of the Society also, in other parts of the nation, have done timely and effective service, especially in efforts to prevent the train of evils following in the wake of the Spanish war. The press has been used, public addresses given and various private efforts put forth to awaken interest in the cause of peace and goodwill, and to win for it new supporters. The Secretary, in addition to his editorial and office duties, which demand much time, has given a number of public addresses, particularly upon the significance of the Peace Rescript of the Czar of Russia, and the dangers of the growing spirit of militarism and of national vainglory in many of the people of our beloved country. The efforts of the Secretary, of members of the Board, and of other members of the Society, some of whom in different States it would afford us peculiar pleasure to name, have resulted in considerably increasing the list of subscribers to our journal and in the addition of more than fifty new and valuable members to the Society.

THE CZAR'S PEACE MANIFESTO.

At our meeting in September, soon after the publication of the now famous Rescript of the Czar of Russia, we took action expressing strong approval of his proposals, our profound gratitude at the step taken, and our desire that the most signal success might crown the effort.

A message of this import was forwarded to Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Washington, for transmission to the Emperor. At the same time a message was sent to President McKinley declaring our appreciation of the action taken by him in notifying the Czar that our government cordially sympathized with his purpose and would send delegates to the proposed Conference, if held. We also respectfully suggested to the President that it would, in our judgment, be appropriate and every way desirable for the Conference to take up the subject of a general system of international arbitration, and asked that the United States delegates might be instructed to bring the subject before the Conference. The President replied that the subject should have careful consideration. In the Czar's second Circular, published in January, this is mentioned as one of the points to be discussed, and it is understood that the Commissioners appointed by our government go to The Hague instructed to make a special effort in this direction.

END OF THE WAR WITH SPAIN.

The war with Spain, which had broken out at the time of our annual meeting last year, came to an end on the 12th of August by the signing of the peace protocol providing for a cessation of hostilities and the appointment of a joint Commission to decide upon the terms of peace. In common with all friends of humanity we rejoiced that the conflict, which had seemed to us so unnecessary, had so speedily come to an end. Our Secretary at once sent a message to the President expressive of the feeling of the members of the Society and of the hope that the problems left by the war might be settled in a generous Christian spirit which would be conducive of good feeling and peace in the future.

THE TREATY OF PEACE.

The treaty of peace with Spain was signed at Paris on the 10th of December, 1898. As soon as its contents became known, the gravest doubts were awakened in many minds as to the policy adopted in it by the Administration in dealing with some of the territories wrested from Spain, particularly the Philippine islands. This policy seemed a serious infraction of the most cherished American political principles, as well as of justice and humanity. In these doubts our Board nearly unanimously shared. While the treaty was under consideration in the Senate, the subject was taken up by us, and, after earnest discussion at two meetings, resolutions were unanimously passed declaring that there is no such thing as a right of conquest, that the sovereignty of the United States ought not to be extended over any people without their free consent, that the proposed policy was fraught with danger of serious international entanglements, of war and of the fastening upon the nation of a great navy and army, that for these and other reasons the Philippine islands ought not to be annexed to the United States, but allowed to set up a government for themselves with such assistance as might be necessary. Time has only deepened the conviction that if a truly fraternal, unambitious policy had been followed, the nation might have fulfilled every international obligation growing out of the new situation, all its duties to the Filipinos themselves, and at the same time have avoided a peculiarly deplorable war.

THE WAR IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Since the 5th of February, the day before the ratifica-

tion of the peace treaty, the nation, in trying to establish its war-bought sovereignty over a far-away group of peoples, hitherto in nowise connected with its jurisdiction, finds itself in the anomalous position of bombarding the coast towns, laying waste the property, burning the villages and shooting to death thousands of the inhabitants, combatants and non-combatants, in the name of liberty, humanity and peace, for no other crime than refusing to submit, without any choice or expression of opinion, to the authority of a remote, to them alien, state, which at least all the leaders of the islands had supposed was helping them to attain their long coveted independence. Shall the friends of peace, at such a moment as this, have no voice of protest in the name of truth and of righteousness?

THE GROWTH OF MILITARISM.

War breeds war and the spirit of war. One of the most deplorable things in connection with the war with Spain and its resultant, the war in the Philippines, has been the increased force given to the spirit of militarism. Both at home and abroad the army and navy estimates have felt the impulse. The swift victories of the American navy, flashed by the wires throughout the world, have stirred into intenser life the old passion for exploits and glory. All the great nations of Europe are adding to their fleets or armies, or both, with a feverishness not felt in recent years. Whatever other influences may have operated—and they are many—the chief cause of this fresh emulation has been the sudden emergence of the United States, contrary to all her best traditions and most cherished policies, as a war-power. Temporarily,—let us at least hope it may be nothing more—has she become a powerful agency in maintaining alive and developing the very evil which from her birth she has most dreaded. Granting, if you please, all the good that may be claimed to have come out of the war with Spain in wresting from her oppression her West India colonies, the events which we are passing through, the militarism which, like a plague of locusts, is invading the national life, have shown anew that war cannot be employed as an instrument for any cause without leaving behind it the deterioration which is its inevitable fruit. It becomes increasingly clear each year that this ancient barbarism has no proper place in our modern society. The nation cannot turn to it without paying the severest penalty. The good which is sometimes thought to be unattainable without it, ought to be, and might be, even in the extremest cases, secured by other means, if governments only had the wisdom and the courage to try them.

THE UNREST OF THE NATIONS.

The year has been peculiarly marked by unrest on the part of many nations. Ambition has abounded, international sensitiveness has been great, diplomatic daring and rusing have been common. Several parts of the world have been in imminent danger of war. The Anglo-Egyptian campaign for the reconquest of the Soudan, the bloody horrors of which have brought the blush of shame to multitudes of English-speaking people, accompanied by the aggressiveness of the French in Africa, at one time brought France and England to hasty war preparations and dangerously near to hostilities. Russia and England in the East have glared into each other's eyes over their prey, and have pushed each other as far as they dared to

do, without taking the fearful risks of going to war. Germany, France and Italy, as well as Russia and England, have all found, or made opportunities to push, by hook or crook, their colonial ambitions in the East, regardless of the rights of China and of the demands of conscience upon professedly civilized peoples. They have, in spite of present makeshifts of agreement, laid the foundations of future contention and strife in those regions, the results of which are not encouraging to think of. Austria and Russia still frown at each other over the Balkan provinces. South Africa is still the scene of trouble, through race and national differences, through ambition and greed. The war which has been devastating Samoa seems to have been as much the result of the selfishness and unreason of the "civilized" consuls and justices sent out to assist the islanders in their government as of the barbarians themselves. South and Central America have had within the year, if not their usual crop of insurrections and civil wars, enough at any rate to show that there is still a great transformation to be wrought in the countries south of us, as well as elsewhere, before the reign of universal peace sets in. It must in fairness, however, be confessed that these Latin American states have not in recent months been the chief sinners, and that they may well have the privilege of throwing stones at their former maligners.

THE ENCOURAGEMENTS OF THE YEAR.

Turning to the other side of events, we find much to give encouragement. The forces that make for peace have been active, vigilant and courageous as never before on so great a scale. If the old spirit has abounded, the new has even more abounded, often where least expected. The past year, for more than one reason, will always hereafter be justly reckoned famous as the turning point in the history of the peace movement. The problem of the abolition of war has finally taken its place in the sphere of practical politics, from which it can never again be withdrawn until war is no more.

ARBITRATION TREATY BETWEEN ITALY AND THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

On the 23rd of July last the first general treaty of arbitration ever established went into effect. The treaty was negotiated by the governments of Italy and the Argentine Republic and ratified at Rome on the above date. It will be seen from the text of the document, which was published in full in the February (1899) *ADVOCATE OF PEACE*, that the treaty is even a better one than that drawn by Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote, the failure of the Senate to ratify which was so sore a disappointment in both this country and Great Britain. Italy and Argentina thus have the honor to lead the procession in the march toward the greater conquests of peace hereafter. The treaty has made no great stir in the world, the noise and confusion of war having drawn attention elsewhere, but it is justly to be reckoned among the foremost events of the year in real and lasting importance.

CASES OF ARBITRATION.

A number of cases of disputes have been under consideration by arbitral tribunals or commissions during the year. Of those pending a year ago, the Bering Sea case, the dispute between Great Britain and Belgium, and that between Japan and Hawaii have been finished, the latter

by the absorption of Hawaii into the United States. Cases still under consideration are the Venezuela boundary dispute, the Delagoa Bay railway case, the Franco-Brazilian boundary dispute, the Denhardt claims case between Great Britain and Germany, the railway case between Great Britain and Colombia, the boundary dispute between Hayti and San Domingo, similar ones between Bolivia and Peru, and between Bolivia and Costa Rica, the Toga Hinterland dispute between France and Germany, the boundary dispute between Chile and Argentina, and a similar one between Great Britain and Brazil. The two latter are new cases. In addition to these, a joint commission, composed of most eminent jurists and statesmen, has had under consideration all the outstanding differences between the United States and Canada. After many months of laborious service, the commission has adjourned without being able to reach an agreement on some of the more important differences, but there is reason to believe that ways will yet be found by which all the matters under discussion may be adjusted. The serious trouble between France and England over the Fashoda affair, which at one time led to hurried war preparations on the part of both nations, has been, we are happy to say, by an addition to the Niger Convention, adjusted in such a way as not only to remove danger for the present, but also to lessen friction in the future. The commission appointed by the two governments will, it is hoped, in the near future be able satisfactorily to arrange all the serious differences between the two nations.

These cases, not only by their number, but also by their importance, show that steady and not very slow progress is being made in the application of the principles of justice and forbearance in the relations of nations to each other.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION.

The subject of an Anglo-American treaty of arbitration has not been lost sight of, though no further official steps have been taken towards its consummation. Many leading men and organizations in both countries have from time to time during the year urged that the time is most favorable and that such a treaty be not longer delayed. President Paine made a special visit to Secretary Hay to urge the re-opening of negotiations. But in spite of the fact that there has been so much talk of better feeling between the two nations, no step has been taken by the governments, so far as we know, to revive the subject. Nor is any likely to be taken until it is seen what the result of the Conference at The Hague is likely to be.

The talk of an offensive and defensive Anglo-American alliance, growing out of the political events of the year, has nearly died away, and we hope and expect that it will not be revived. An Anglo-American permanent peace convention, which would attract and inspire other nations, is in every way desirable and imperative; but an alliance of force, against the world, would be repulsive, and unworthy of any nations inspired by Christian ideals and speaking the English or any other tongue.

THE WORK OF THE PEACE SOCIETIES.

The peace societies, which have steadily increased, even the past year, until there are now more than four hundred of them, have carried on a vigorous propaganda during the year. The unfortunate wars and threats of war which have occurred, instead of discouraging them and rendering them faithless to their principles, have only stimu-

lated them to more heroic efforts for the attainment of their purposes. In season and out of season they have pressed the claims of their principles and lifted their protest against the violation of justice, humanity and brotherhood committed by war and the monstrous, ever-growing preparations for war. The unexpected support brought to their cause by the Peace Rescript of the Czar of Russia has given the whole movement a vast increase of strength and of confidence, and a new standing before the world. To the peace societies in Europe especially, which have struggled most heroically against both neglect and contempt, has the Czar's Irenicon been like a pentacostal inspiration from heaven. Henceforth the societies, having now for three quarters of a century uttered their prophetic voice in the midst of a gainsaying world, though there will yet be difficulties and delays, have a right to believe that their cause is on the eve of victory. The times are ripening fast, and universal peace is no longer a dim and distant vision.

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU.

The International Peace Bureau, whose seat is at Berne, Switzerland, has continued to render most efficient service, through the *Correspondence-Bimensuelle*, in keeping the societies informed of one another's work, and in bringing their united influence quickly to bear in times of excitement and threat of war. The Bureau is gradually collecting and classifying all the literature of the peace movement, and already has a library of very great value.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BUREAU AT TURIN.

Because of the outbreak of the Spanish-American war, and for other reasons, both the annual Peace Congress and the Interparliamentary Peace Conference which were to have been held last autumn at Lisbon, were given up. A special effort was therefore made to render the annual meeting of the Society of the Peace Bureau of as much importance as possible. It was held at Turin, Italy, one of the cities which had bid strongly for the annual meeting of the Peace Congress, and the occasion was the more noteworthy as it was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Count Sclopis, the President of the Geneva Arbitration Tribunal. Many of the leading peace workers of Europe were present, and the meetings held in connection with the annual meeting of the Bureau were most enthusiastic and useful, the interest being greatly heightened by the then recent issuance of the Czar's manifesto, which naturally became the chief subject of discussion.

THE MOHONK CONFERENCE.

As an agency for promoting international arbitration, and through that the ultimate peace of the world, the Mohonk Conference, created and sustained by Mr. Albert K. Smiley, is unsurpassed in its usefulness. The fourth annual meeting was held the first week in June last, soon after the breaking out of the Spanish war. The Conference, at Mr. Smiley's wish, excluded the war from its discussions. Notwithstanding the limitations thus imposed, the discussions were full of life and power, and the Conference, which was attended by about one hundred and twenty-five persons, proved to be one of the most successful in the series.

Our Secretary attended the Conference, took part in the discussions and served as a member of the Business Committee. Other members of our Society also participated in the deliberations. Ten thousand copies of the steno-

graphic report, edited by our Secretary, were printed and have been widely circulated. The Conference was presided over, with great ability, by Col. George E. Waring, Jr., whose recent untimely death was not the least of the misfortunes to the country growing out of the war with Spain.

PEACE SUNDAY.

The Sunday before Christmas was again observed as Peace Sunday. The observance of the day in England was more general than ever before, owing to the special efforts put forth in its behalf by the London Peace Society. More continental churches also kept it than in any previous year since its institution in 1890. In this country, while the day was regarded by a few pulpits, as in other years, there has never been anything like the recognition of it, or of the cause which it represents, that the supreme importance of the subject demands. In last December there was less than usual, for reasons which it is painful to have to recall. The Christian pulpit is always remiss in its duty when it fails to make prominent the great principles of peace taught and lived by Jesus Christ. It is something more than remiss when it turns to the advocacy of principles and policies which lead directly to war.

THE PEACE CRUSADE.

In the line of peace work, the most remarkable phenomenon of the year, next to the Manifesto which called it out, has been the Peace Crusade. Originating in England, where, supported by prominent men of all classes, creeds and parties, it developed into a popular demonstration of proportions hitherto almost unknown, it spread to many parts of continental Europe. It has considerably stirred our own country in spite of the pre-occupation of the public mind by the events growing out of the Spanish war. The events of the Crusade, with its numberless meetings, its great sheet, *War against War*, and its lesser sheets in other parts, are so recent as to need no comment. Coming at a time when it has had to encounter strong waves of war excitement and peculiar obstacles from national vanity and international friction, it has afforded unmistakable proof of the rapidly growing and deepening interest of the civilized world in universal and perpetual peace and the means by which it may be attained.

THE COMING CONFERENCE AT THE HAGUE.

As the Peace Manifesto of the Czar of Russia, alluded to already, is to be ranked amongst the greatest political documents, possibly as the supreme political document of this century and of all the centuries, so the Conference which is to meet at The Hague on the 18th inst., to discuss measures by which general peace may be attained and the nations relieved of the crushing burdens of the great armaments which are fast ruining them materially and morally, will be, in its purpose and in the scope of its national representation, the most important assemblage of men of state ever convened. We shall hope and pray that the results attained may be in some degree commensurate with the high aims which have called the Conference into existence. Our hopes are supported by the character and political position of the Czar, by the prompt and serious interest shown by all the governments which are to participate, by the eminence and conscientious intelligence of the delegates, who have been appointed, by the large and growing public interest in the meeting,

by the demands of the general conscience of the civilized world, and by the absolute necessity of speedy relief from the direful situation into which the nations have allowed militarism to bring them. However meager the immediate results of the deliberations may be, the mere fact of the meeting of such a Conference is an omen of the brightest promise.

THE FUTURE OF OUR WORK.

There is still an immense and difficult work before our Society, and those of like purpose in this and other countries. But many of the great movements of our time are with us, and the friends of peace may hereafter labor with larger and stronger hopes of early success than they have ever done before. The scourge of militarism has become so great and tyrannous that it must soon perish of its own madness. The dream of peace has become the waking purpose of peoples and rulers. The progress of events which are rapidly converting the whole earth into one brotherhood bids us patiently wait for the full day whose dawn is already so radiant, and in the meantime to do what we can to hasten its coming.

With devout thanks to God for his blessing during the year, we respectfully submit this report.

On behalf of the Board of Directors,

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD,

Boston, May 8, 1899.

Secretary.

Militarism—The Enemy of Civilization.

BY REV. JOSEPH MAY.

"They that take the sword, shall perish by the sword."
—MAT. XXVI: 52

A fact, lately reported, in two lines, by the newspapers, has really a grave significance. It is this: the President having to commission, in our new-made army, one or two hundred officers of the lower grades, there were received, at the War Department, within a few days, *sixty thousand* applications for appointment to those positions.

I beg you to carry this fact in your minds, and reflect upon all that it means. It means first, that, in our country which ought to be so prosperous,—and perhaps seems to be so,—sixty thousand young men, of such age, social relations, intelligence and education as would fit them to become lieutenants are so loosely related to the active world as to need and be tempted to seek occupation in the trade of war. This is serious enough, as a token of the times, from the business point of view.

But, what is far worse in my eyes,—a thing every lover of his country, and especially every true lover of the democratic principle, must deplore,—it is a peculiar token of the recrudescence of the war-spirit, the awakening of the military instinct among our people.

It is one thing for citizens, fired by patriotism, to come forward, at the call of government, to support it in the actual exigency of even a bad war. It is another, that the orderly profession of arms should begin to allure the ambition of our youth; that *militarism* should become an established factor in the characters and lives of our population.

When, at the outset of the secession movement, nearly forty years ago, the manhood of the country, aroused by the peril of our Constitution, gathered in immeasurable

volume and poured itself out, a living flood, to quench the fires of disunion, there was no prevailing element of military ardor in the men's enthusiasm. The spirit of military ambition was conspicuously deficient in our volunteers. When the war was over, the great armies of the North melted back into civil life instantly, as if rejoiced to be set free from a hateful service. The nation returned to the ways of peace, breathing freely from its long and unaccustomed strain. Our standing army was not materially increased. The whole terrible experience, heroic from a military point of view, had been so essentially civic in its quality, that it confirmed, encouragingly, the conviction of our being a radically peace-loving community.

Yet, not the most justifiable war,—and in civilized times it is hardly possible that any war should be justifiable,—not any war waged for the most genuine and defensible ends, *can be* waged without serious moral evils resulting. The thorough unselfishness of spirit in the war for the Union, its elevated motive, the presence in our armies of such a large proportion of high-minded, educated men, defended us measurably—even greatly,—from such evils. But they were *there*. And the worst of them has manifested itself during this last year—namely the implanting in our citizens of the war-spirit, the development of militarism.

I confess I was astonished, as I was deeply chagrined, by the way in which our population responded to the call of the Spanish War. I have not changed, in the least, my judgment of that event, as expressed to you just before its outbreak. I hold it to have been as superfluous, and for that reason alone, as unjustifiable and wicked, as it was prematurely brought on and blunderingly managed. In its motive and inception, it was a politician's expedient, to which, with unsurpassed adroitness, the men whose interests it was to serve, gathered the forces, ever so ready in our community, of the humanitarian sentiment. The sentiment of philanthropy certainly continued the dominant one in the minds of our people. But it was far from being the only one which was evoked, and the readiness with which we accepted war; the eagerness of so large a portion of the people for it; the alacrity of our young men to engage in it, the popular enthusiasm over our victories; the idealization of the men who have led in our successes, have been painfully significant of the presence among us of the war-spirit, to a degree which gives me, at least, very anxious forebodings for our republican experiment.

Our political corruptions are enough to discourage any but the stoutest optimistic heart. If we are to add to these evils, the development of militarism, our national future becomes distinctly precarious. If our enormous power as a people is to be directed by the genius of warfare, it is impossible to foresee the complications into which we shall be led among the nations, or their disastrous consequences, material and political as well as moral, to ourselves.

The word I am using—militarism—is new. It has arisen under the exigencies of modern days to formulate the idea of the enormous extent, and the terrible, scientific orderliness of the preparations for warfare now existing among the great nations. It implies the organization, as seen in Europe, of whole populations into standing armies, always ready for service.